/387 cont./

372 342 openings in the top prevented it from escaping easily. The entire structure was well insulated, for it was meant to offer special protection against the rigors of the climate. Since it was built in the damp western part where dry firewood was not available in large quantities, the Indians managed by constantly carrying green wood into the hut and piling it up. In a few days it was dry and only then was used for burning. Even a supply of tussock grass [513] (Poa flabellata) was kept on hand, for this litter for the bed had to be renewed at least every two weeks.

251 The men supplied the necessary food for their families on communal hunting expeditions which were usually so successful that a good share of the booty could be stored away for a few days. This helped in periods when the hunt was seriously hindered by continuous stormy weather. They were anxiously concerned about having an abundant supply of meat always on hand, if not perhaps a whale /388/ lying on the shore. Otherwise the gathering of many people in the same place in a securely built hut would not only be pointless, but even dangerous. Inevitably the inhabitants frightened the game farther and farther away from the dwelling, which made hunting increasingly difficult. Then only ample stores kept off the threatening specter of hunger.

342 362 ●221 A hut for several families was occupied only in winter. Wanderlust was too strong to detain a family in one spot any length of time for other reasons. The people who built a communal hut would perhaps come back to it for a second winter, but not after that, for the game supply had been exhausted over a wide area, and they themselves were kept away by the boredom of sitting still. The arrangement described here might be referred to as the "winter hut." Near it a sort of winter supply was piled up. The very safe shelter provided somewhat comfortable living [577] conditions, and during the long periods of inactivity together, favorite myths and legends were repeated, or the people told each other stories of their own experiences and Hánnus stories. Communal huts were not built in the east, and the reason is simple: weather and hunting conditions were much more favorable there.

342 593 After a few families have settled in the so-called multiple-family hut, they not infrequently erect another building directly beside it for the half-grown children, and this is appropriately known as the "children's hut." It resembles the first hut in shape

/545 cont./

226 animal on the bottom with her own eyes. If she has caught sight of one, she holds her crab fork perpendicular with both hands and lets it glide into the water. Ample experience has taught her to estimate correctly the light refraction in the water so that, with a vigorous, accurate push, she penetrates the calcareous capsule around the actual body. The entire animal is now securely speared and can be drawn up perpendicularly. In the canoe it is stripped off the fork with a blow of a stick. It usually goes on moving for a long time. Even though the actual body is perforated, this does not constitute a loss, for it has no solid meat in any case. The meat is in each of the long legs which remain undamaged. Whenever possible, the women like to search the bottom near the coast toward the end of low tide, for they, too, enjoy the excellent meat of these crabs (275).

275. Hyades (h):10 and (q):369 briefly mentions crab fishing. We have the impression that he did not become acquainted with the entire process from personal observation.

226 4. Fish. How eager the Yamana are for a change in their diet can be seen from the fact that they often go out to fish (276).

276. In travel accounts we frequently come across an exaggerated estimate, implying that a fish diet constituted a large part of Fuegian subsistence. This is what is maintained by an earlier account (VSA:XIII, 81;1866): "They live from hand to mouth, dependent chiefly upon fish for a subsistence" /cited in English/.

[221] Summer with its longer period of daylight and its less unfavorable weather conditions is far more suitable for this than the unfriendly winter. Nevertheless, one often finds women fishing even /546/ in the cold season. It is not unimportant in this connection that in winter the type of fish which the Yamana choose to catch withdraw

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22 At this time also the seals guard their newly born young on the beach and are easy to get at (p. 39 /untranslated/).

The gathering activity of the woman is somewhat more dependent on the various seasons. This, obviously, applies first of all to the hunt for berries which ripen in late summer and in the fall. Cyttaria harioti can be picked in the fall and in the first half of winter. With the beginning of summer Cyttaria darwinii are also matured and remain on the trees until shortly before the end of winter. The cold season is not suitable for fishing with a line (313). On the other hand, sea urchins (Echinodermum) taste

313. Bridges (j):25 referred to "many kinds of smaller yet valuable fish, chiefly plentiful through summer and autumn and early winter"/cited in English/. Hyades (q):339 also confirms this. See footnote 290.

best in July and August, that is, toward the end of winter. In the spring girls and women busily hunt for birds' eggs as long as the opportunity lasts. They rejoice when the terrors of winter are past and the providing of food is made easier for them by the warmer season.

221 262 The variety that the Yamana family can count on in obtaining food is limited in these few details. Their safest supplementary source throughout the entire year is the inexhaustible amount of Mytilus mussels. All Indian women can successfully dip into this source when there is no other prospect. Despite all this, the family is not spared a few days of hunger if in some spot even the supply of mussels is exhausted and they cannot proceed elsewhere because of bad weather. As we have said, mussels have the same importance for the Yamana as bread has for Europeans, and they tire of them just as little as Europeans do of bread. Finally, we should like to remind the reader that the individual periods of the whole year are determined according to the various stages of development of Cyttaria darwinii. This does not mean, however, that this fungus contributes to any extent to the diet of our Indians (p. 277). Despite the very slight variations, the monotony of a meat diet exclusively continues all during the year.

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for the moment, and if they are shipwrecked on a lonely rock and do not happen to be noticed by others, they are in danger of starving to death." Such rare accidents, however, do not in the least weaken the brilliant record of the seamanship of the Indian women.

3. On Land

361 461 We are justified in saying that the Fuegian's principal field of action is the sea, for on land he makes only a temporary brief halt here and there. He never settles anywhere for a long stay. /620/ Soon after landing, the man, aided by his wife and children, builds a simple, loosely constructed hut or only a meager protection against the weather and the rigors of the night. If adverse natural forces do not prevent it, the family usually travels on the next day or the day after. The sojourn on land is for rest and certain manual work. After the day's trip the woman, especially, needs adequate rest, but the man no less, for he is sometimes very agitated and active while hunting and does not feel his great exhaustion until later. Sometimes both husband and wife must exert all their skill for hours to combat headwinds and counter-currents until landing is possible. They expend all their strength doing this and need two or three days before they dare venture out to sea again. On shore, the man makes the tools he needs; however, in this occupation he is never tied down to a certain place. He works here and there on the same piece until it is finished, even though he has to load and unload it, unfinished, 20 times. Similarly, the woman performs all her manual work on land and combs the vicinity of the hut for mussels and snails, fungi and berries.

●221 In its ceaseless crisscross journeys, the family follows a certain plan dictated by the prospect of success in food-seeking. In general a family travels far more in summer than in winter, even though unfavorable weather is more predominant (p. 24 /untranslated/) (433). In summer they have a larger selection of animals

433. Without giving this as a reason, Bridges (VSA:XIII, 207;1866) simply says:

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"In winter they lead a comparatively settled life, and generally winter in their own proper country" /cited in English/. In other words, they avoid extensive trips which are less profitable in winter.

at their disposal, which they take from here and there, whereas in winter they depend on fewer kinds. Penguins, for example, nest on low, remote islands; cormorants, in rock walls against the open sea; fish prefer calm, shallow inlets, and berries thrive in sunny spots; crabs gather on a gently sloping sea floor, and seals congregate close to rock caves. The Indian knows all these spots, and, in accordance with the season, he tries his luck in one or another of them. He takes advantage of his most recent experience, supported by his excellent knowledge of the locale, but he does not return to the same spot very soon, in order to give the frightened animals enough time to calm themselves and to reassemble; later on he can successfully surprise them there. Not infrequently the hunter lands at some spot without any success at all, for example, if some other family appeared there a day or two previously or if unfavorable weather has driven the animals away. He is constantly drawn back to the places that never disappoint him; they then become his favorite places, so to speak.

/621/ On land the Yamana display a less steady gait than the neighboring Selk'nam. This is by no means to deny that they are highly adroit in hunting and gathering, capturing birds, and overtaking seals. We simply refer to the way in which they stand and walk. In this they are without doubt somewhat awkward. It is hard for them to run and jump; if they walk slowly, they soon tire (434). Nevertheless, there are many steps they cannot spare

434. The Anglican missionaries repeatedly called attention to this. For example, Despard (b):697: "Firelanders travel very little on land; they can neither jump nor run well, and are soon tired with walking" /cited in English/.

To say that when they walk for a longer